

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3147

INFO AMEMBASSY VALLETTA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0612

LIMDIS

VALLETTA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LAINGEN

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CY PFOR UN GR TU US

SUBJECT: LAINGEN VISIT: "LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN"

REF: (A) BONN 03494, (B) STATE 053314, (C) ANKARA 1749,

(D) STATE 054728

1. IN CROWDED 48-HOUR VISIT MARCH 5-7, EUR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LAINGEN MET WITH MAKARIOS, CLERIDES, FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES, DENKTASH, UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE DE CUELLAR AND GREEK AND TURKISH AMBASSADORS. HE TOURED REFUGEE CAMPS AND VISITED U.S.-SUPPORTED REFUGEE HOUSING PROJECTS AND BORDER CONFRONTATION AREAS FROM SOUTH. HE SPENT SOME HOURS TOURING TURKISH-OCCUPIED NORTH AND VISITED AN ENCLAVED GREEK VILLAGE.

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2. IN ITS USUAL SUPER-HEATED, SELF-CENTERED FASHION, MEDIA WERE PRIMED TO TREAT LAINGEN VISIT AS APOCALYPTIC DIPLOMATIC EVENT PRESAGING A NEW U.S. INITIATIVE BUT WERE SOMEWHAT SOBERED BY LAINGEN'S INSISTENCE THAT HE HAD COME TO "LOOK, LISTEN AND LEARN". MODERATING PRESS GUIDANCE FROM GOC AND DENKTASH WAS HELPFUL.

3. I JOINED LAINGEN ON ALL CALLS. I CANNOT SAY WE HEARD ANYTHING VERY ENCOURAGING. IN EVERY CONVERSATION LAINGEN NOTED THAT A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION HAD BEEN AGREED IN VIENNA AND URGED THAT IT BE FULLY AND FLEXIBLY EXPLOITED. IN GENERAL TERMS IT WAS APPARENT THAT GREEK SIDE IS A VERY LONG WAY FROM DECISION ON HOW TO HANDLE TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN CONTEXT OF ITS VIENNA COMMITMENT TO COME UP WITH A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL SOON, AND SORELY DIVIDED ON THIS SUBJECT. WE FOUND AN UNDERLYING HESITANCY ABOUT COMMITTING ANYTHING TO A MAP GIVEN (A) INEVITABILITY OF TURKISH REJECTION AND RIDICULE IF IT IS MULTI-ZONAL, AND POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS WITHIN GREEK COMMUNITY IF IT IMPLIES ACCEPTANCE OF BIZONALITY AND (B) CONCERN OVER REFUGEE REACTIONS TO ANY MAP ON GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD APPEAR TO CONSTITUTE GOC ACCEPTANCE OF NON-RETURN OF THOSE WHOSE ORIGINAL HOMES HAD BEEN IN AREAS TO BE LEFT UNDER TURKISH CONTROL.

4. IN ALL OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THE GREEK SIDE THERE WAS REFLECTED A CONVICTION THAT TURKS WERE UNLIKELY TO REDUCE PROPORTION OF CYPRUS TERRITORY THEY NOW HOLD BY MORE THAN THREE PERCENT IN WHICH CASE, WE WERE WARNED, THERE COULD BE NO DEAL. IN MAKARIOS' FAMILIAR REFRAIN, LEGITIMIZING THIS KIND OF SETTLEMENT WOULD BE "MORE WORSE" THAN PRESENT STATUS QUO.

5. AS USUAL, ALSO, GREEK LEADERS ASSERTED KEY TO A SOLUTION LAY IN ANKARA, U.S. EFFORTS IN THAT DIRECTION HAD BEEN HALF-HEARTED, WHOLEHEARTED EXERCISE OF U.S. INFLUENCE WOULD REPRODUCE AN EARLY SOLUTION. NO AMOUNT OF ARGUMENT SEEMED TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THE US HAS DONE AND IS DOING ITS BEST IN THIS DIRECTION, WITH REAL POSSIBILITY OF MORE TANGIBLE

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RESULTS IF THERE ARE MEANINGFUL PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE. ON THE SAME THEME, DE CUELLAR STRESSED THE ESSENTIAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE UN AND SAW ONLY HOPE OF SOLUTION AS LYING IN EXERCISE OF HEAVY INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE, PRIMARILY ON TURKEY.

6. ON THE GREEK SIDE, CLERIDES CAME ACROSS ONCE AGAIN AS THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVELY-MINDED REALIST GENUINELY CONCERNED FOR PROGRESS THROUGH NEGOTIATION.

7. ON THE TURKISH SIDE, WE FELT FROM BOTH DENKTASH AND TURKISH AMBASSADOR INHAN THAT THE TURKS ARE VERY LITTLE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS OR EXPECTATION THEREOF. WHILE EXPRESSING A DESIRE TO PRESERVE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, OUR INTERLOCUTORS REFLECTED THE FEELING THAT THE TURKS HAVE WHAT THEY HAVE AND A SOLUTION IS IMPROBABLE UNTIL GREEKS COME TO ACCEPT, OVER THE LONG HAUL, THE NEW REALITY: THAT CYPRUS IS EQUALLY TURKISH AND GREEK -- AND HAS NOW BEEN MOVED INTO THE SPHERE OF TURKISH MILITARY HEREMONY.

8. ON NEXT STEPS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCEDURE, DENKTASH BLUNTLY REITERATED HIS INCAPACITY TO DISCUSS TERRITORY, EXCEPT IN AN ABSTRACT SENSE, WITHOUT MAINLAND REPRESENTATION, I.E. IN SUBCOMMITTEES FOLLOWING NEXT VIENNA ROUND.

9. WHILE THE GENERALITIES WERE DISHEARTENING, SEVERAL INTERESTING SPECIFIC EMERGED IN OUR CONVERSATIONS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 0612

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10. REFERRING TO HIS BONN VISIT, CLERIDES SAID BRANDT WOULD SOON BE MEETING ECEVIT IN EUROPE TO URGE LATTER AVOID ATTACKS ON DEMIREL AND LEND HIS POLITICAL WEIGHT TO A FAIR CYPRUS SOLUTION. HAVING IN MIND BONN'S REPORT OF CLERIDES' VISIT THERE, (REF A) AND DEPARTMENT'S QUERY (REF B) REGARDING CLERIDES' REMARK THAT HE AND DENKTASH HAD "INFORMALLY AGREED ON OUTLINES OF TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT, (BUT WITHOUT REFERRING TO EITHER), WE QUESTIONED CLERIDES AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT VIENNA. HE RECOUNTED DETAILS OF CONVERSATIONS WITHOUT, WE FELT, HIDING ANYTHING SIGNIFICANT, AND STATED FLATLY THAT NOTHING HAD TRANSPIRED WHICH COULD BE VIEWED AS EVEN INFORMAL AGREEMENT. MOST THAT COULD BE DRAWN FROM VIENNA ON THIS SCORE WAS THAT WALDHEIM HAD RECOMMENDED VIENNA I MAP OF REFUGEE RETURN BE CONSIDERED AS BASIS
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FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF TERRITORY. WHILE NEITHER HE NOR DENKTASH HAD BEEN EMPOWERED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES ON THIS SUGGESTION HE HOPED SYG'S SUGGESTION MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE ACCEPTABLE. FOR OUR BACKGROUND, CLERIDES REVIEWED WHAT THIS WOULD MEAN, IF ACCEPTED, IN TERMS OF AREAS TO BE DISCUSSED: MORPHOU AND ADJACENT CITRUS PLANTATIONS, A ZONE IN THE EAST AROUND TRIKOMO AND LEFKONIKO, AND A SOUTHERN ZONE COMPRISING VAROSHA AND A SECTION TO THE WEST, SOUTH OF THE NEW NICOSIA-FAMAGUSTA ROAD.

11. ALSO WITH DEPARTMENT'S QUERY IN MIND, WE ASKED CLERIDES IF THERE WERE ANYTHING IN PRESENT TURKISH POSITION WHICH COULD BE REGARDED AS MORE FORTHCOMING THAN PREVIOUSLY. HE SAID THAT GERMANS HAD SUGGESTED THIS TO HIM BUT HAD BEEN UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO SUBSTANTIATE IN ANY WAY AND HE HIMSELF HAD NO SUCH INDICATION. (CERTAINLY THERE WAS NO HINT OF NEW FORTHCOMINGNESS IN OUR TALKS WITH DENKTASH AND INHAN.)

12. COMMENT: BASED ON THE CONVERSATION WITH CLERIDES, WE CONCLUDED THAT GERMANS ARE IMPUTING TO CLERIDES A DEGREE OF THEIR OWN WISHFUL THINKING NOT SUPPORTED BY THE FACTS. LIKE ANKARA (REF C), HOWEVER, WE WELCOME FRG'S ACTIVE AND OPTIMISTIC INVOLVEMENT. END COMMENT.

13. CLERIDES INFORMED US IN CONFIDENCE THAT KARAMANLIS HAD THAT WEEK CONVEYED THROUGH AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS, FOLLOWING LATTER'S RETURN FROM CONSULTATION IN ATHENS,

A MESSAGE OF "ADVICE" TO MAKARIOS CONCERNING GREEK CYPRIOT ACTION FOLLOWING VIENNA. ACCORDING TO CLERIDES, KARAMANLIS RECOMMENDED GOC (A) FORMULATE A BIZONAL TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL, (B) CAST THIS IN TERMS CLOSER TO ITS MAXIMUM THAN AN UNACCEPTABLE MINIMUM POSITION, AND (C) ACCEPT WALDHEIM'S SUGGESTION THAT AREAS SPECIFIED IN CLERIDES' VIENNA I MAP BE USED AS STARTING POINT IN TERRITORIAL DISCUSSION. WHEN WE POINTED OUT APPARENT CONFLICT BETWEEN KARAMANLIS' RECOMMENDATIONS (A) AND (C), CLERIDES SAID WAY IN WHICH WALDHEIM'S SUGGESTION COINED MADE IT CLEAR THAT BASIS OF TERRITORIAL SOLUTION WOULD BE BIZONAL.

14. FINALLY, CLERIDES SAID MAKARIOS WOULD MEET
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WITH NATIONAL COUNCIL/COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MARCH 8. THIS AND SMALLER ATTENDANT MEETINGS (MAKARIOS-CLERIDES) WOULD BEGIN THE LABORIOUS PROCESS OF FORMULATING GREEK CYPRIOT POSITIONS. HE ANTICIPATED HARD GOING, PARTICULARLY FROM LYSSARIDES AND OTHER ADVOCATES "LONG STURGGLE" BUT HOPED KARAMANLIS' ADVICE WOULD HELP TIP THE SCALES WITHIN GOC IN FAVOR OF AN ACCEPTANCE OF WALDHEIM'S PROPOSED APPROACH ON TERRITORY: HOWEVER, HE WAS HARDLY OPTIMISTIC.

15. WE TAXED DENKTASH WITH EFFECT OF ANNOUNCED TFSC ELECTIONS MAY 23 AND JUNE 20 ON HIS COMMITMENT TO BE BACK IN VIENNA BY THE END OF MAY WITH ALL ELECTIONS OUT OF THE WAY. DENKTASH ASSERTED THAT TFSC LEGISLATURE HAD PUT THIS THROUGH WITHOUT HIS CONCURRENCE AND THUS EMBARRASSED HIM. HE SAID HE WOULD NOT BE ABSENT FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD. GIVEN HIS STATED REQUIREMENT TO RECONSTITUTE HIS CABINET AND OTHERWISE REALIGN HIS ADMINISTRATION FOLLOWING ELECTIONS, HE AGREED WITH OUR OBSERVATION THAT HIS RETURN TO VIENNA BEFORE EARLY JULY IS NOW PRECLUDED. COMMENT: THIS PLACES VIENNA RESUMPTION EVEN LATER THAN FORECAST IN REPORT OF FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH (REF D).

16. REGARDING EFFECT OF MAINLAND POLITICAL DIVISIONS ON GOT APPROACH TO CYPRUS, DENKTASH SAID PRESIDENT KORUTURK AND DEMIREL WOULD BE VISITING MOSCOW. TO SYMBOLIZE TURKISH UNITY ON NATIONAL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING CYPRUS, KARAMANLIS HAD INVITED ECEVIT TO JOIN HIM FOR THIS VISIT AND ECEVIT HAD AGREED.
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